285 all coiled shapes save the flattish trays the working edge was that nearest the maker, which was the outside of the basket. On the open flat trays whose upper side was the seen or "best" side, the work was done on the far edge of the basket, the work still progressing from left to right. On a certain type of small flaring bowl, the inside and outside of which were about equally visible, the work might be done either way the maker preferred. The fact is that most Yokuts workmanship was so skilled that both sides of a basket were equally perfect. Split stitches were the mark of poor workmanship; it was also claimed that the coiled stitches were never interlocked.

Ornamental materials were split redbud bark (a´nop), which varied in color from a rich maroon red to a chestnut brown, and a black root (mono´hič). When a pattern was to be introduced, the plain wrapping was cut off and fastened, and the colored wrappings replaced it. This method was always followed even if only one or two turns of the colored binding were needed. In other words, there was only one layer of wrapping. No double-wrapping,
[237] overlay, or imbrication was used. An especially fancy ornamentation was that of quail top-knot feathers applied at the edge of the shouldered or bottleneck basket. The quill end of the feather was inserted under the turn of the wrapping with its tip to the left where it was held down with the thumb of the left hand while the binding stitch was drawn up. In this way it slightly overlaid its predecessor and did not project forward in the way of the worker's fingers.

● 53 Kroeber shows eighteen basket designs to
285 which I can add only one called "waves" which is said to represent the billows of Tulare Lake.[201] This may be seen in plate 1 in the feather-edged basket toward the lower left and in a large flaring basket directly above it. The pattern at the bottom is the more usual rendition.

Cradles

854 In old times the cradle, with forked-stick
335 foundation and tule mattress, was used ex-
[184] clusively in this region. The tule mattress, which has been thought of as a separated cradle by ethnographers,[202] functioned as such only on the borders of the lakes, where sound wood for frames was scarce. A permanent twined tule mat was affixed to the frame, but another, larger one, was added with the baby when it was on the cradle. This larger mat was really a mattress in which the baby slept at night, still lashed in it. When put on the frame, the

[201] Handbook, 533. A story of the origin of basket designs is recorded by Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[202] Kroeber, Handbook, 534, pl. 40, g.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ:ṛni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which [531] opened at the owner's command. The rocks were usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 823 [531] Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš:šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.140] Miwok NS 16
Western Mono NS 25

Y
M
W
285
531

Explanation of Plate 1

Yokuts Specimens in Case 76, Room 15, Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Miwok specimens to left of verticals, Western Mono specimens to right of verticals. (Photograph by courtesy of Peabody Museum, 1939.)

Top: large ceremonial basket flanked by other baskets of gift or ceremonial type. Across center: twined ware -- left, sieve with stripes; center, fish basket; right, seedbeater over coiled ware circular winnowing tray (perhaps a shaman's), flanked by small bottleneck or "treasure" baskets. Three fine bottleneck baskets with quail plume ornament. Bottom: gambling trays, mush basket type, small mush baskets. On floor, right: stave dice, arrow straightener, pair of hiding bones; center, bone awls and cane arrows; right verticals, looped rocklifters, plain bow, digging stick, and shaman's staff (black).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 141] Miwok NS 16
Western Mono NS 25

Y
M
W
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PLATE 1. YOKUTS SPECIMENS, PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

352 The top was bound with the water plant
531 root. About four inches from the top was a
854 horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating
831 the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.[105] Sometimes red or black roots were woven into designs across the bottom; these, too, showed the sex of the occupant.

352 The first cradle had a band hoop extend-
854 ing forward over the infant's head. There were no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new baby was not carried on the back, but in the arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on the back because its eyes might fall out," said N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby hanging cheeks.

The baby was held in place on the cradle by means of a milkweed string band about two inches wide which passed through loops along the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on its back, the band was not drawn very tight;
[237] for an older one carried upright, the lashing prevented movement of any kind. Under the lashing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until it could walk and talk. Confinement in the cradle is not continued as long as formerly: Lillian thought children remain babyish if kept in the cradle too long.[106]

As the baby grew it was transferred to second and third cradles, the last being some thirty-five inches long. All were of the same construction as the first save that the hood was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chukchansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was woven as an integral part of the supporting hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had corners which were merely tied to the top edge of the frame with milkweed string. Large
[482] cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the child had outgrown them and, as long as they were in good repair, were used for younger infants of the proper sex. An infant girl would not be put on an older brother's former cradle, or vice versa.

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[105]Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zigzag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

[106]Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of K.W. "He was teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee, and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again at once."

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

obsidian. Chukchansi face patterns are shown in Figures 45 *h–l*, 46 *m–o*.

Men frequently squatted rather than sat. For longer periods they sat on their heels, with toes turned together and hands on knees. The cross-legged position, the most common of all the world over, was not used, except perhaps on special occasions like gambling. Women stretched one leg out and folded the other back; or, at rest,

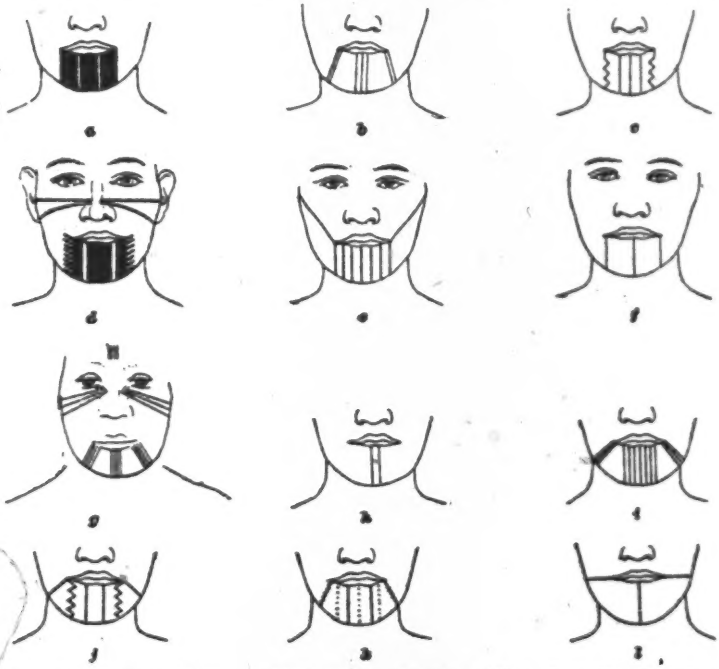

FIG. 45.—Women's tattoo. *a*, Yurok and northwestern tribes; *b*, *c*, San Francisco, probably Costanoan; *d*, Sinkyone; *e*, northwestern valley Maidu; *f*, northeastern and southern Maidu; *g*, Yuki; *h–l*, Chukchansi Yokuts. Compare the Wallaki, Yuki, Huchnom, and northern Pomo tattoos shown in Powers, Tribes of California, pages 116, 130, 140, 142, 144, 158.

drew the knees up and joined the hands in front of them. The Plains Indian woman's attitude, with both legs to one side, was not adopted. The habits of all the California Indians in these interesting matters are little known, but it is clear that custom and not inherited nature is the chief determinant. As at so many other points, nature seems at once to have furnished us a structure that permits a surprising variety of sustained positions, and to have deprived us of instincts favoring one rather than the other; so that culture has a clear opportunity to evolve the most diverse habits.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

HOUSES.

The Yokuts built at least five kinds of dwellings.

1. Most distinctive was the mat-covered, gabled, communal *kaui* of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut, and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end.

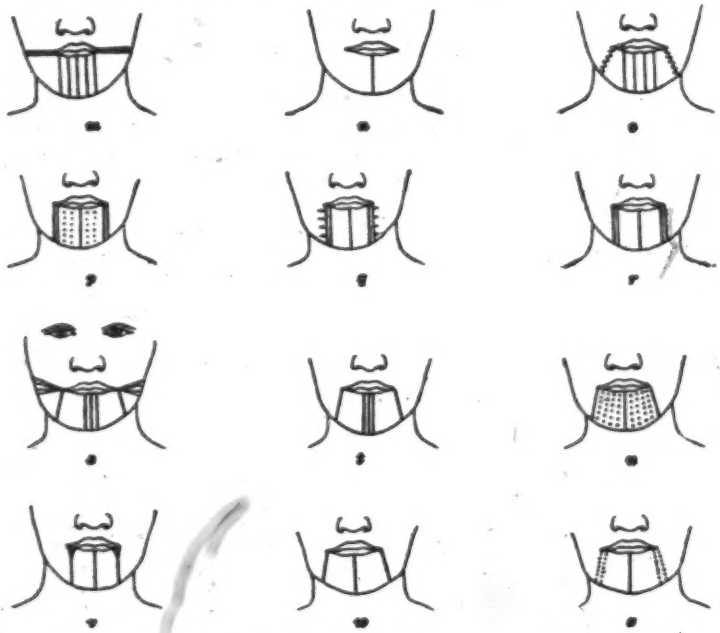

FIG. 46.—Women's and men's tattoo. Women: *m–o*, Chukchansi Yokuts; *p–s*, Mohave. Men: *t–x*, Mohave.

These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber.

2. The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or *dumlus*, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

3. The middle plains tribes, such as the Wechihit and Tachi, to-day build small tule houses of another type, elliptical or oblong

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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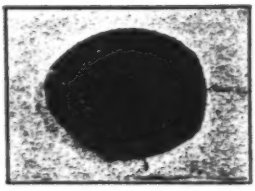
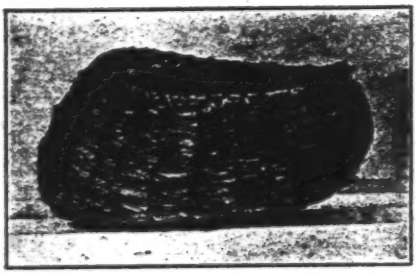
[237
531]

a

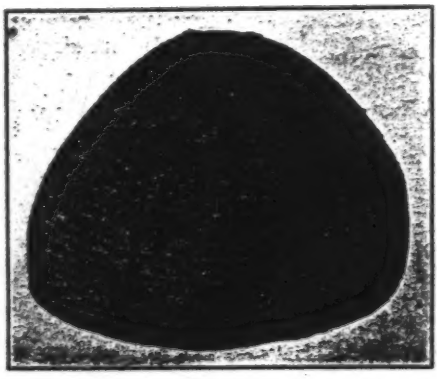


b



c

d



e

YOKUTS BASKETRY

a, Yokuts shouldered basketry with fringe of mountain quail plumes; b, tray for suppawdee; c, soft basket of tules; d, seed beater or tray; e, diagonally twined winnower or tray

[p. 530(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

BOATS.

Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.

TEXTILES.

Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes reflaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These "Tulare bottlenecks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south, except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however, as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 171 Chemehuevi forms are rounder, while the farthest traceable affinity is the small spherical basket of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. It is therefore possible to set the focus of the constricted neck forms among the southern Yokuts or the Chumash. As between these two groups, general grade of culture favors the Chumash, while the Yokuts are more central in the distribution of the type. The northern Yokuts, on and near the San Joaquin, do a much poorer grade of work than their southerly kinsmen, as do the Mono. But the Tübatulabal approximate the Tulare-drainage Yokuts in fineness of execution.

292 285 [482] The woman's basket cap was probably Yokuts. At least the southern Yokuts seem to have shared it with their southern and eastern Shoshonean neighbors. This hat was, however, worn only with a load on the back, not habitually. It is curious that the range of the southern California cap coincides with that of the carrying net; of the northern form, with the technique of exclusive twining.

285 [53] The pattern scheme of Yokuts baskets varies from the prevailing horizontal banding of southern California to the diagonal, vertical, and broken effects of Miwok basketry—largely according to locality. Materials and technique are also intermediate. The sewing is close, as in the north; in the Shoshonean area to the south, wider spaced. The foundation is a bundle of *Epicampes* grass, as in southern California; the wrapping, however, is not *Juncus*, as there, but more woody materials: root fibers of sedge (*Carex* or *Cladium?*) for the ground color, *Pteridium* fern root for black, bark of *Cercis* or redbud for red.

Very flat trays were made in coiling. The banded decoration of these brings them nearer Cahuilla and Luiseño ware than Maidu, where radiating designs prevail in flat work. Miwok coiled trays have gone out of use, if they were ever made. Yokuts women employed the finest of their trays for dice throwing; but of course the type was also put to more lowly and daily service. [525]

Twined baskets were more poorly made, but filled a greater variety of needs and perhaps outnumbered coiled pieces in the normal household. The carrying basket was loose enough in texture to be describable as openwork. The interstices were filled with a mucilaginous smear. The commonest of all receptacles is an oval or ovate tray, with a rounding bottom. The term "winnower" describes only one of its manifold uses. The seed beater was but such a tray, one end of which was continued to a handle. Another form of tray was rounded triangular, nearly flat, and wholly or partly in diagonal twining. This has almost certainly been borrowed by the Yokuts from the Shoshoneans on their east. The Tulare Lake tribes must once have possessed a considerable array of special ware in [77]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

tule, both coiled and twined; but as it made no decorative endeavor it has passed away with the disintegration of the culture of these tribes almost without preservation. (Pl. 50.) 285

The Yaudanchi affirm that they knew the pitched water bottle of the desert and southern California; but no specimens have survived. [501]

Large baskets were used by the men to ferry women and children across rivers, as by the Yuki. The Mohave employed pots for the same purpose.

Basket patterns had more or less aptly descriptive names, but these were ordinarily without symbolic or religious reference. Some of the names were adjectival, like "zigzag" and "crooked"; others denoted parts of animals, whole small animals, or familiar objects. The significance might be in the pattern as a whole or in the design element. (Fig. 47.) The number of names was not over a few dozen. 285 531

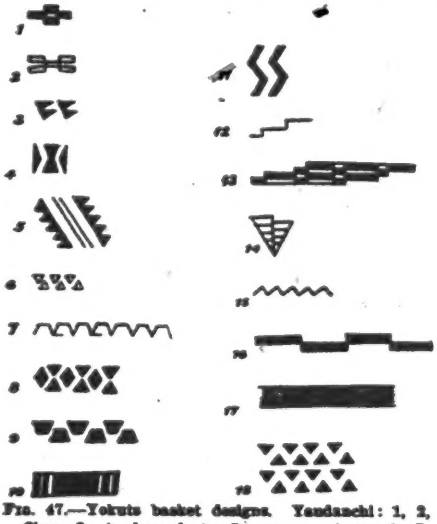


FIG. 47.—Yokuts basket designs. Yaudanchi: 1, 2, flies; 3, 4, deer foot; 5, arrow points; 6, 7, crooked; 8, 9, rattlesnake markings; 10, king snake markings; 11, water snake; 12, chok, wood-gathering crook; 13, tied in the middle. Chukchansi: 14, arrow point; 15, crooked; 16, millipede; 17, king snake markings; 18, rattlesnake markings.

The pattern designations of the Yokuts, like most of the patterns, are generally confined to themselves or their immediate neighbors; but their range, character, and limitation of meaning are typical for all the California Indians, whatever their varieties of techniques, materials, and forms of basketry. Where the matter has been most fully inquired into, as among the Pomo, it is found that design names are often combined, or modified by standardized epithets, which allow of the accurate description of even a complex pattern. It is not unlikely that the Yokuts may prove to have followed a similar system.

The carrying net, *chutia*, into which either a conical basket or a less shapely load could be set, reappears with the Yokuts. It seems to have been of southern California type, light and with detachable supporting band or rope. Pack straps of braided string were also slung around the load and forehead. 286 482

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

854 structurally separate. *C*, however, is hooded; on the other hand, *f*
352 is found without a hood as well as with it.
285 Finally, the soft tule-mat cradle of the Tachi (Pl. 40, *g*) is the same in plan as Mono stiff basketry specimens like Plate 40, *l*, differing only in its pliability.
171 An aberrant type is *e*, so far reported only from the northerly Miwok. The frame is wooden, but distinctive in not being in a single plane. The two rods curl up from the base. This enables them to serve at once as hooks for hanging and as a hood frame. (Pl. 39, *f*.)

The historical interrelations of the several types can only become known through ampler material than is now available, both from within California and without. It is only possible to say that in spite of transitions the basketry and the wooden-frame types seem fundamental.

The former has its rods running longitudinally and is intra-Californian, or rather cis-Sierra, the northern sitting cradle linking with it in this feature of direction of the elements.

The wooden-frame cradle with cross rods is trans-Sierra, including southern California. On this interpretation the hill and mountain Maidu cradle has been shaped by Shoshonean influences from the Great Basin, and the Yokuts have been infiltrated to some extent by the same influences. On the other hand, the Shoshoneans within the Sierra Nevada, such as the western Mono, and presumably the Tübatulabal, follow the Californian method of construction at least as frequently as do the neighboring native stocks.

171 An interesting minor feature of Yokuts cradles is the expression
854 of sex in the decoration. The Chukchansi put a band of parallel
352 diagonal lines on a boy's hood, a zigzag on a girl's. A number of the
285 Yokuts cradles from other localities show the same designs; several
531 have the twining of the frame analogously disposed (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*). Diamonds may be the equivalent of the zigzag, in which case a genital connotation is possible. Eastern and western Mono hoods show patterns of the same kind (Pl. 40, *k*); the Washo denote sex in their hood ornamentation; the Miwok may therefore be guessed to follow the principle also; and the Mohave use distinct patterns for boys and girls in the braided bands with which the child is lashed to the frame, besides putting feathers only on a boy's hood. The device is therefore of some geographical extent, and may represent an eastern influence into California. It is of special appeal because of the rarity of symbolic expression in California outside of ritual; and even in ritual the symbolism is scant compared with the habits of the Southwest, the Plains, and the East.

While the same patterns probably occur over a large area with the same symbolism, the sex denotation itself is expressed in other ways

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water.

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs.

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings.

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it.

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place.

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo).

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or 436
mouth of the dead, as Ichow stated, "So that dead person could 301
see, hear, talk good in *Tihpiknits'* (keeper of the hereafter) 764
Pahn (land)." Such use of Tahp has been found in some of the most ancient burials discovered in Yokuts territory, which indicates that it had long been valued by the ancestors of those people.

The most valued of all Yokuts money was made from the 436
shell of the famous Pismo clam. Most of this Pismo clam shell- 439
money was probably traded through Cuyama Valley from Canaliño neighbors to the southwest. Tejon informants have stated to me that the word, *Cuyama,* was the Canaliño name for the Pismo clam shell and that the Cuyama Valley was the channel through which these shells were traded to the Yokuts. Curiously enough, clam-shell ornaments are less common in adjacent Yokuts territory than they are farther north in Chunut Yokuts territory. My informers concerning the above were Rosa and Ramon Hino and Juan Losada of Tejon Canyon. Wahumchah, one of the last two living Yowlumne Yokuts, has told me that his tribe obtained their clamshell money through the Cuyama. Wahumchah's father and grandfather were both traders and his observations along these lines should carry more than ordinary weight.

I have heard no claims made that Pismo clam shell-money 436
had any curative or preservative powers, only that it had great 764
value as money. This is borne out by the use made of it in Yokuts burials. It was almost always placed in the mouths of the dead. *Yoimut,* an aged Chunut, once stated to me, "To pay them bad fish-people to let the dead person cross that narrow bridge to Tihpiknits' Pahn. They put it in the mouth so that dead person don't lose it and he sure to have it when he get to Tihpiknits' Pahn."

The Pismo clam ornaments were of three standardized 436
shapes and had holes drilled through them. Discs were made 321
in sizes from more than two inches in diameter to less than one- [531]
half inch. The edges of most of these were decorated with incised geometric forms in several designs. Indications are that the incisions were originally rubbed full of asphaltum. This bright black material contrasted strikingly with the white of the clam shell and made them the most spectacular and impressive forms of stone or shell money, or ornaments produced by the Yokuts.

[i.e., spangles and ornaments of abalone shell.—Anal.]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red, yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being carried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), supported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains Indians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh*, and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and comfortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p. 78]

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Over the cheeks was applied a mixture of powdered charcoal and pine pitch. This badge of mourning was sometimes allowed to remain in place for approximately one year, or when a yearly mourning gathering and dance was held. This painting was done to accentuate the dirt which accumulated under the eyes while the mourners were constantly crying and could not wash. 302 765

The women, and men, too, sometimes perforated their noses (*tong-ok-e'-en*), and thrust through the openings a long slender piece of bone, or hardwood (*tong-ik'-un*) or the rim from an abalone shell. These ornaments were often six inches in length and are said to have added a note of sternness to the naturally impressive, dark-visaged natives. 304 301

Tattooing varied with the various tribes throughout the valley. They called it *ship'-ah wah'-shud*. It was accomplished by making cuts in the skin with sharp chips of stone and rubbing powdered charcoal into the cuts. 304

Tattooed designs consisted mostly of straight lines, both solid and composed of rows of dots. They occurred on the chin, across the cheeks from the corners of the mouth, and sometimes on the forehead. Each tribe doing this is said to have had its own distinctive design. 304 531

Women pierced their ears, (*pu'-wah he'-un*), and wore suspended from them beads, seashells, and other small ornaments, to a greater extent than did the men. Strings of beads were also worn about the neck and suspended with, or wrapped about, the hair. These beads were made of steatite, or of seashells, appearing white, or blue and bluish black. 304 301

Painting (*ship'-ah ush'-uh*) was probably common among the valley Yokuts tribes. Balls of paint have been found in graves at such widely separated points as the Los Baños Creek in western Merced county, the Alamo Solo in northwestern Kern county, and Grizzly Gulch in eastern Tulare county. They included three colors, red (*haw'-yow*), white (*huh-so'-sid*) and black (*wow'-wos*), red being most common. 302 172

Several craniums have been found having the marks of paint upon them. As the flesh decayed, the color on the skin was deposited on the cheek bones. The colors used in these cases were red and white. There was some difference between the use of these ancient cosmetics and those applied by present white women of the valley. The Yokuts painted the face red

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Leached acorn flour and equipment for handling acorns. Foreground: Cakes of leached acorn flour, resting in a sand basin, lined with grapevine leaves.

Center, left to right: First: A grass brush over which the hot leaching water is poured. It prevents the flour being washed away when the water is poured.

Second: A soaproot husk brush used in brushing flour from mortars and for many purposes about an Indian camp.

Third: A looped acorn mush stirrer. It is made of a green oak limb and is used for stirring the cooking mush and for removing the cooking rocks from the mush and replacing them in the fire.

Fourth: An acorn flour sifting tray with a cake of leached acorn flour on it.

Rear: Cooking baskets; at the left is shown a lightning pattern, at the right the gopher snake pattern in a milkweed fiber carrying net.

each leaching. Count of the leachings was sometimes kept by laying aside a short stick each time. Leaching was quite successful in removing the bitterness, even from the most bitter mountain acorns.

The leaching being done, the material was covered with a piece of deer skin (*hoey'-in chud'-way*) and left to harden. After it had dried, the cake, or loaf, was lifted from its bed, the leaves removed from the bottom of it, and it was taken to the house.

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Wahnomkot, Wukchumne full-blood from east of Visalia, throwing dice in the Yokuts woman's dice game. The dice are made of halves of walnuts. She made the game tray she is using. It shows the quail, or brant goose design.

up, the thrower lost one point and the dice were awarded to the two opposing players.

Either of the partners could throw the dice. Considerable skill was thought necessary in throwing them. A *moke* (woman) who could roll the dice most rapidly and who could pour forth the most convincing entreaties was usually accorded this privilege. [777]

A Huuhchuish game has been known to continue without interruption for several days and nights. The most interesting description of this game, as recorded by early observers, was that left by Stephen Powers in 1870. The scene was located on Tule River among the *Yau-dahn'-chi* tribe of primitive Yokuts. Mr. Powers' account follows:

"The Yokuts have a sort of gambling which pertains exclusively to women. It is a kind of dice throwing and is called *u-clm'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. 525 [285 531]

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by Indians that this was done in order that nothing would happen to the child. 854

After the child had learned to walk, the small cradle was taken down and burned. It was thought if anything happened to the small cradle the child would never learn to walk. This accounts for the scarcity of the temporary cradle in basketry collections. 352 285

As soon as the permanent cradle was begun, the grandmother devoted all of her time to its construction and had generally finished it at the end of a week or ten days. It was from two and one-half to three feet in length, about eight inches wide at the bottom and about eighteen inches wide at the top. This flat, rigid base was constructed of two layers of cottonwood twigs. The upper layer was placed length wise and the under layer cross wise. These twigs were lashed together in an interesting pattern by the common stitching material, the cladium root called *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

It is the design used in lashing the twigs together that determines the difference between a cradle for a boy and a cradle for a girl. The design generally extends across the cradle diagonally. In the boy's cradle the design always ends at the opposite side pointing in the same direction in which it it starts from the first side. It may have several off-sets or "Z" shapes like our conventional form for lightning, but it ends in the same direction in which it starts. 854 352 285 531

The design for the girl's cradle may start out the same as for the boy but changes its direction and ends in the opposite direction from which it starts. Whether this feature of the design is to be understood as a Yokuts recognition of any well fixed feminine characteristic will have to be settled by the reader.

The flat, rigid base, which has just been described, is strengthened and covered at the upper end by a sunshade made of the same material. This sunshade is formed in a very interesting way. A hoop of several cottonwood twigs is sprung across the framework, about eight inches from the upper end. From a point in the middle of the top of the base other cottonwood twigs spread in a fan shape to the hoop, where they are securely lashed. The sunshade is then stiffened by stitching with hupud in the same design which characterizes the base. 854 352 285

In order to make this shade sun and water proof, the pulp from the common soap root is pounded to a paste and applied

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854 to the outside with the hands. This paste dries to a hard, smooth surface and shuts out both sun and rain.

352 285 The upper part of the sunshade, which is attached to the top of the base like the handle of a fan, forms a convenient handle, or grip, by which the cradle and the child can be moved from place to place.

Along the sides of the base are loops of buckskin. In the old days soft moss or grass was placed under the child. It was then wrapped in a small rabbit skin blanket, or buckskin. The child was then placed upon the cradle and lashed to it by means of a long milkweed fiber strap, laced through the buckskin loops at the side and criss-crossed over the child much as a shoe is laced.

[531] From the sunshade directly over the child's face are hung short strings of beads, at the ends of which are suspended bits of abalone shell, periwinkle shell, or keyhole limpet shell. These are not to be played with—only to be looked at. The hands of the child are strapped down to its sides under the wrappings.

Originally the Indian mother carried this burden with her by means of a milkweed-string band which fastened to the base of the cradle on either side at a point near where the hoop of the sunshade was attached. This looped band was placed across the forehead of the mother and the burden was distributed between her forehead, back and shoulders. In some tribes the name for this cradle was *shaw'-nil,* the same as the word for burden.

Some of the foothill tribes made a crude baby cradle of a forked stick with other sticks lashed across it by means of sinews, or string.

Yoi'-mut, the aged *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) Yokuts quoted on other subjects, furnished the following most interesting story concerning one of the articles carried with all Chunut cradles:

"Chunut mothers kept a piece of *kodis* [soapstone, steatite, or talc] hanging from the sunshade of the baby cradles. When they changed the baby they scraped some powder from this soapstone to put on the baby. It was just like your talcum powder."

I have in my collection a forked-stick Yokuts cradle which was collected from the *Yaudanchi* Yokuts about 1868 by Wilco Mentz, of Porterville, and which has had one of these soapstone talcum powder cans suspended from it for more than eighty years.

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CHAPTER X

ARTISTRY

YOKUTS BASKETRY DESIGNS

177 285 531 The most disappointing thing, and one which must be first considered in approaching the subject of basketry designs, is the influence which white "collectors" have had upon the prehistoric designs. Among the many collections which have been made throughout the eastern part of the San Joaquin Valley there are many forms of basketry which have been made to please enthusiastic, if not wise, collectors. This *white* influence reached its greatest depth when Indian basket makers were required to cover whiskey bottles and demijohns with stitched basket materials, copying designs from calico prints.

285 531 The rattlesnake was in olden times probably never shown with a head or tail. Only the pattern on the back of the snake was copied and very cleverly applied to the basket. The snake designs are probably most common of any and are certainly among the most realistic. The stitching of the coiled basket reproduces in a most life-like way the scales of the snake and allows these patterns to be reproduced, although in conventional form, quite true to life. The most common snake forms used are the rattlesnake, king snake, gopher snake, garter snake, and water snake.

The rattlesnake design was often used in connection with the "bottle neck" basket, which was at one time so common on Kaweah, Kern and Tule Rivers. A conventional ant, water skater and quail design is often used in connection with the rattlesnake. The full history of this design is obscured in the past. Quail is represented by a black mark resembling the feathers from the top of his head. Four rectangles form a perfectly charming water skater. Ants are represented by small square dots in groups, or in lines resembling ant trails.

285 531 825 776 The Yokuts rattlesnake was private secretary, or *Winatun*, for *Tihpiknits*, the Yokuts Saint Peter. It was the duty of the rattlesnake to crawl about and locate the Yokuts who were not behaving as good citizens. He sent their names to Tihpiknits, who called them in.

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285 Quail was the champion of fair play. Water skater was a
531 messenger, or Winatun. Ant was the person who meted out
825 punishment. As far as the Yokuts knew, for his size, the ant
773 had the most painful sting of anything about them. The
[774] story that has been preserved of designs incorporating these three elements is that there was once a bad rattlesnake who turned in the names of good people who were called in by Tihpiknits. Quail learned of this and told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants, who stung rattlesnake to death and ate him.

285 Deer tracks (*hoey'-in trut*) are often used in basket designs
531 and are many times mistaken by collectors to represent arrow points. They are generally represented by two small slender triangles having the adjacent sides parallel and placed close together.

Caterpillars, or worms, are shown by zig-zag lines, often in close series, representing the march of great masses of worms, or in small straight lines about the edge of the basket and representing individual worms.

Sometimes lightning is shown upon the basket and resembles very closely our own conventional form for lightning. The pine tree is represented by a series of triangles placed above each other and gradually diminishing in size toward the top.

Wild geese are very cleverly represented, the brant being easily recognized, although a peculiar conventional form is used. A small rectangle, the outline of which is worked in black, has across the center of it a broad perpendicular dark band which brings to mind quite clearly the marking on the wing of the goose. Extending from one corner of the rectangle at an angle of about forty-five degrees is a straight line which terminates in a short horizontal line representing the head. A series of these figures begins at the bottom of the basket and spirals to the right or left toward the top, illustrating not only the individual bird, but in a very effective way the formation so commonly assumed in flight. Because of the sloping lines above this design, foothill Yokuts generally refer to it as quail, instead of goose.

The bow and arrow is also represented in conventional form, generally by small triangular shapes which really picture arrow points and represent, according to basket makers, not only the arrow, but the bow as well. I have only once seen

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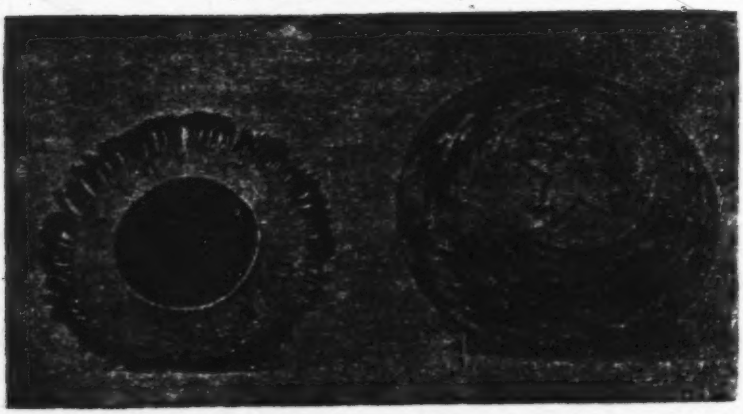

[773]

Left: Top view of a Wukchumne creation basket with quail top-knot feathers as decorations around the edge. It was made to be burned at the periodic pageant which reenacted the creation of world. The stitches are very fine, some almost fifty to the inch. In the bottom is Cheitus, the morning star. The world was finished just as the morning star was beginning to fade. Around the side is a design taken from the pattern on rattlesnake's back. Rattlesnake was the agent of Tihpiknits, Yokuts St. Peter. It was his business to crawl about spying on bad people whose names should be sent in to Tihpiknits. Around the rim are the bow and arrows, sent to the earth by the sun when he went to live in the sky. To the right is the new moon. The world was created during the new moon. Next is Yehk, the watersnake, first water dweller. Next is Sahwuhit, the turtle, who brought up from the bottom of the universal water the mud from which the world was made. Next is Wyaaes, the first man, swimming up from the water. Next is bow and arrow, repeated. Then is Tsuh-tuh, the oak tree, first tree in the Yokuts world. Next is turtle repeated. Last is mah-mia (blackberry), the first fruit. Right: On the bottom is Cheitus, the morning star. This is another creation basket, one of the most difficult patterns the author has seen. It shows Eagle, the Yokuts Creator, in white, with a red border, which creates another eagle, the white spaces between the four eagles making another eagle. It is an all over pattern which dovetails so as to allow of no waste space. The stitches are fine, about thirty-two to the inch.

among the old baskets a representation of either the bow or arrow in a form resembling their true shape.

Houses are often shown by a small low triangle which makes no attempt to show either the smoke opening in the top, or the door-way. Houses may be shown in any color.

Among the many traditions about basketry designs which are, according to the experience of this writer, clearly in need of correction is the one which states that purposely none of

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285 the old Indian basketry designs were made complete, or without imperfections. Old basket makers say that there is no foundation whatever for the above statement. They say that broken places in the design or places where parts of the design do not match exactly are simply the result of a lack of skill or forethought on the part of the basket maker. When, over a period of weeks and often months, one has watched the developing of the basketry design while the tedious work has been in progress, he can readily appreciate the above explanation.

The Indian woman begins her design at the base of the basket. As coil after coil is added and the circumference of the rim of the basket where the design is being worked out becomes larger, no small amount of ingenuity and mathematics is necessary to make that portion of the design near the top of the basket conform to that which already has been worked out on the smaller portion near the bottom.

In all of this work no pattern is used. The upper portions of the design are left entirely to the imagination and it is often quite difficult to bring them into proper position upon the flaring side of the basket. This whole matter would be comparatively simple if the basket were the same size at top and bottom, but new stitches must be added every few inches as each coil is added, and this not only increases the surface area upon which the design is placed, but also makes necessary with each coil a new count and division of stitches.

In the solving of this whole problem an Indian woman will display a truly amazing amount of ability, not only in placing the design itself, but in the mere mathematics of dividing the various portions of the basket into equal parts.

The writer has in his possession a small basket, illustrated in this chapter, which is about eight inches in diameter and two and one-half inches deep. This basket is of very close weave, having certainly more than 30,000 stitches, spaced about thirty to the inch. Upon its flaring sides are reproduced four conventional eagle designs, about which is quite elaborately worked out a wide border in two colors. The borders about the eagles make more similar eagles which dovetail so that the design covers the basket completely, and there is on the entire side of the basket no space not involved in representing an eagle. The entire design is worked out from start to finish without a single flaw and shows perfect uniformity, not only

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in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail.

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh*, of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets.

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed.

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated.

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285 517 It is a statement of bare fact to record that the baskets made by the Yokuts Indian women are the very finest known to have been made by machine or by hand by any people of any race in the history of the world. The Pomo Indians of Lake [171] County made a basket covered with colored feathers, and probably made more kinds of baskets, but they were no finer in workmanship than those made by the Yokuts on Kings, Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers, and probably, in prewhite days, throughout the San Joaquin. Not only are the stitches in some baskets as fine as sixty to the inch, but color combination, texture, shape and design are completely fascinating and present some of the finest conventionalized designs known to the art world.

285 ● 531 A Yokuts Indian woman of primeval days, seated on a deerskin or tule mat under a spreading valley oak, would have been as little expected to turn out a beautiful work of art as any known primitive person. One is both privileged and amazed who has seen them at work amongst the litter of an Indian camp. Their persons and clothing were often ragged and soiled, their homes and furniture were of the most meager, primitive kind. There was little in the immediate surroundings to suggest anything used in designing a Yokuts basket.

But the Yokuts woman saw far beyond her camp. Without a drawing or pattern of any kind she placed upon her basket the most pleasing and delightful representations of mountains, birds, butterflies, deer, quail, streams, lightning and the heroes of her tribal myths and stories. This was all done, remember, [412] with a crude chipped-stone knife and a bone awl, not another tool of any kind.

Beginning at the bottom of a curved, flaring basket, the Yokuts woman placed the first colored stitches of a design, complicated and involved beyond the imagination and memory of most white persons. She carried this design through to completion without a pattern or drawing.

One must also appreciate that for pictorial purposes stitched basketry has the limitations of the mosaic, the cross-stitch, or the loop used in hooking rugs. It was not possible to reproduce most objects in their true shape and form. They were conventionalized. A triangle could represent a deer's track, an arrow point, or a flame. A realistic reproduction of a quail topknot stood for quail: the shape that the inch-worm assumed in traveling represented it. Butterfly was sometimes represented by a wavy line suggestive of its flight. Four small

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rectangles construct an amusingly accurate fly, and resemble a head-on view of an airplane. Five small rectangles create an unforgettable water-skater. Small wavy or straight lines are caterpillars. Small groups, or long, winding strings of small squares represent ants.

In the selection of her materials, in the dyeing, preparation, and assembling of them, in the accurate weaving of myths and historical events into the designs on her baskets, it can truly be stated that the Yokuts Indian woman was one of the most versatile artists in the world. She was mythologist, craftsman, weaver, designer, historian, mineralogist, botanist, mathematician, and poet.

YOKUTS ART

The mere mention of Yokuts Indian art seems a challenge to most persons. The thing farthest from their thought is that a Yokuts Indian could have developed anything which in any way could be termed true art. This is not the case. It is true that many of the old forms of Yokuts art are gone, perhaps never to be known, but it is due only to our destructive powers that there is not today more evidence of several forms of their art.

The Yokuts were developing to a point where art was appearing in their manufacture of pottery. True, this had advanced only to the stage where simple ornamental forms were being attempted and where borders and designs were being applied with the thumb nail or a sharp stick. But the beginning was there and there have been found within Yokuts territory several pieces of pottery which were banded with interesting designs and which probably were not traded into this territory. Border designs were also cut into the large steatite cooking vessels around the opening in the top.

Indian art was applied to many articles. The small apron on the front of the breech clout was sometimes painted with designs symbolic of the local tribe, or clan. The colors and pigments used were the same as those used in rock painting, being earth colors mixed with the juices of plants, most commonly chilicote oil, mixed with the juice of the tall milkweed, the fiber of which was used for making string.

Of all the art common to the many Yokuts tribes, that which has made famous the Yokuts *moke* (mo'-ke, woman) throughout the world, has been applied to their several forms of

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basketry. Although this topic has been introduced in the preceding chapter, an entire volume would not exhaust it. It is necessary to consider it further here. The designs are always simple in nature, often symbolic and never unpleasing to the eye. There is nothing in connection with Indian basketry designs which conflicts with the well observed rules which underlie the white man's design. The striking effect of some of the most simple primitive designs is amazing—sometimes perfectly fascinating.

At the present time there are a few Yokuts basketry artists still at work. Their work resembles more the old unspoiled primitive forms than that of almost any other Indians, because the Spanish did not often penetrate to the eastern portion of the San Joaquin Valley, and the old mode of life was last overthrown there. There is now only one unspoiled Yokuts basket maker on the Kaweah River. There is also one on the San Joaquin River, as well as one or two on Kings River.

The old Yokuts seldom attempted anything but symbolic or conventional forms. Figures attempting to show birds, animals or persons in their true shape, were seldom used. This was remarkably good taste and shows a deep understanding of true art on the part of the basket makers, for they were working in a cross stitch type of reproduction and could not smoothly develop the form of a deer or a bird.

Some of the most common designs used on basketry represented the various snakes common to the San Joaquin Valley. These designs lent themselves very nicely to a coiled construction and their patterns proved well adapted to the materials used.

The Indian painted his spear, his bow and his arrows. The colors used were blues, reds, yellows, blacks and whites, juices of berries and other plants being used. The designs were genrally geometric. The marking on the arrows served a very practical, as well as artistic purpose. It was of importance to the hunter to be able to identify his own arrows. This was not only in connection with the proving of ownership of an arrow which had been shot into the brush, but also to prove who had killed certain game. Various colored lines were banded around the shaft and foreshaft of the arrow in the same way that modern archers mark their arrows.

Another form of art, probably as well developed as any other, had to do with the painting of the faces and bodies of the

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Indian. Here again natural colors, often earth colors, were used and the paint was applied in thick coats, not only to the face but often to the arms, legs and bodies. Different designs were used in connection with different ceremonies. These varied somewhat among the numerous Yokuts tribes. In this way a great variety was worked out.

How common was painting on buckskin will probably never be known. In several graves where bodies had been cremated, I have found fragments of charred buckskin which showed quite plainly a painted design using at least two colors. How much of this sort of evidence has been destroyed by careless "digging" will never be known, but I am of the opinion that such art was at one time quite extensive.

Another form of art was developed in connection with the handles of soap root brushes, dice, wooden utensils, knives, ceremonial equipment and stone mortars. This consisted of coating the articles with asphaltum, or pitch, into which were pressed beads and bits of abalone shell. The beads used were generally of white sea shell and contrasted quite nicely with the black asphaltum. The writer has seen many examples of the above art, although almost all of them were in an advanced state of decomposition. The rims of mortars were sometimes coated with asphaltum and covered with beads and abalone shell and must have presented a rather pleasing appearance.

Due to the perishable nature of much of the old Yokuts equipment, a considerable amount of their art will probably never be known. How many other pieces of paraphernalia and peculiar but artistic creations have not been recorded can only be imagined. However, enough is known about their art and painting and applied designs to be certain that at least upon occasion the Yokuts Indian was able to dress himself up quite colorfully and was not the sombre, drab person that we perhaps imagine.

YOKUTS PAINTINGS

When white settlers first came to the San Joaquin Valley, one of the things which attracted their attention was the many Indian paintings which were common upon the walls of the rock shelters and caves along the Sierra foothills and at some places in the Coast Range. These paintings have been the subject of much speculation and some investigation, and a ready topic for many writers. From time to time various persons have claim-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ed to be able to read these paintings and have given lengthy and elaborate interpretations of the many characters which have been reproduced in the various designs.

I have often discussed Indian paintings with pioneer American settlers, with persons who claimed to have solved their meanings, and with the Indians themselves. I have found little justification for the great amount of importance attached to them and will attempt in the paragraphs that follow to explain something of the nature of the various paintings, as well as the probable extent of their meaning.

First of all we must remember that painting was not confined to rocks alone, but that breech clouts, bows, arrows, buckskins, and even the faces and bodies of the Indians themselves, were painted. If this is kept in mind, the reader will understand that the paintings upon the rocks were no great phenomena, nor were they really unique as the only example of such work done by Yokuts.

The writer is informed by persons who have seen Indians mix their paints, that the vehicle or binder used was often the sap from the common milkweed, mixed with chilicote or wild cucumber oil. With such a vehicle were mixed the various earth colors which were more or less common throughout the territory bordering the San Joaquin Valley.

White persons are too often guilty of overlooking things which are obvious to the Indian, or to the close observer. While driving through the Sierra foothills with a companion for the purpose of visiting some Indian paintings, I was asked where the Indians obtained their red paint. The explanation was made that the Indians used the natural earth colors, which were more or less common in the very locality through which we were then traveling. The companion stated that he could scarcely believe this, because he had never seen any of that color within a range of more than 150 miles. At this point the car was stopped and the discussion continued. After a few moments the cut bank at the side of the road was pointed out and proved to be an outcropping of the richest red earth.

The white color used was, in some cases at least, obtained from diatomaceous earth. The writer has found in Indian graves chunks of this soft chalk in the natural state as well as molded balls of white pigment prepared from the same material.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The yellow pigment sometimes found is a yellow ochre obtained at many places throughout the volcanic regions of the Sierra, both in the northern section and on the desert side in eastern Kern County. In addition to the red pigment already mentioned, there were outcroppings of cinnabar at several places along the summit of the Coast Range, from as far south as the Poso Chaná near Coalinga, to Del Puerto Creek opposite Crow's Landing. This is the ore from which quicksilver is refined. It possesses a bright color, varying from maroon to the light red of common brick.

Black pigment was obtained from charcoal or from natural deposits of graphite. I have in my possession a small Indian mortar, the inside of which even yet is covered with black pigment. All of the colors mentioned are permanent. The white and black could probably never be faded, even by direct exposure to the sunlight through thousands of years of time. This is also probably true of the red pigment. In the old paintings the yellow appears as fresh as any of the other colors.

The permanency of the Indian paintings depended largely upon the binder with which they were mixed and the exposure of the rock surface upon which they were placed. With few exceptions, the various paintings were upon sheltered surfaces, which were not only protected from the sun, but from moisture as well. Some of these paintings done in three colors on such protected surfaces are probably as fresh today as when they were first painted.

The above is not true where the paintings have been subject to moisture. The red paintings at Hospital Rock on the Kaweah River and those at other places where the rain has driven against them have almost weathered away. In fact, close investigation shows that what color is left consists of pigment which has penetrated the porous surface of the rock.

The common statement made by white pioneers concerning the Indian paintings is that the Indians knew nothing about them. This can scarcely be true, because I have found living *Wukchumne* Indians who knew the names of the various paintings and who attached no great mystery to them. Among these were Sam Garfield, *Tawp'-naw*, *Ichow*, and *Pohut*.

These Wukchumne Indians said that the paintings were generally placed at an important village site, one which was permanently inhabited, or at some place where Indian ceremonies were performed. They stated that tribal equipment, such as

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

symmetrical mortars and pestles for grinding Indian tobacco, or costumes for tribal ceremonies, were often concealed near these paintings.

The idea furnished was that the paintings added prestige to the spot and served to awe the lesser characters of the tribe and instill in them a respect for the equipment concealed there. The Wukchumne stated that such places were *Trip'-ne* (supernatural). Among the Wukchumne, paintings in general are called *Copch'-ke*. Red paintings, such as are common at Hospital Rock, were called *Haw'-you*. Paintings using mixed colors were called *Hoo'-cha-ing-utch*.

This writer is very skeptical about interpretations of Indian paintings, at least about those found bordering the San Joaquin Valley. His opinion is that the only person who could interpret those paintings is the man who painted them.

The above opinion is based upon two facts. The first and most important is that there is no common character which appears with any degree of regularity throughout the territory in which the paintings occur. Second, with the knowledge which the Indians have concerning the paintings, there should appear an interpretation of some sort, which would be more or less consistent among the various tribes.

The Indians readily recognize the characters which represent animals, but they offer no other explanation for the geometrical designs and line drawings than to give the Indian name for circle, triangle, square or other common figures. In exception to this they do identify drawings of the sun, moon and *Chapet* (Chah'-peet—the Indian doctor's magic tray), and a few mythological characters.

In each tribe there were probably one or more persons who amused themselves by placing paintings upon the rocks and other objects surrounding the camp site. These parties probably developed skill beyond the average, and it is undoubtedly their work which we see today, placed there for the amusement of the painter, for the awe of the other members of the tribe, and for the interest and speculation of white invaders.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

796 825 To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw*, an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw*, no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

[115] From Tawpnaw, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohut* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

796 776 825 In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary of *Tihpiknits*, keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I. operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to Tihpiknits, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to Tihpiknits *Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates Tihpiknits' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

[285 53] [237]

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Yokuts bottle-neck baskets used by Rattlesnake Doctors for holding their rattlesnakes. The three baskets at the top carry the rattlesnake design. Lower left: Coral king snake design with water skaters. Lower center: Gopher snake design with ant trails around the neck. Lower right: Gopher snake design.

ment. The water skater is a mythological messenger, or *Winatun*. The Yokuts story is that once a bad rattlesnake sent to Tihpiknits the names of some good people with the result that they died. The quail learned what had been done. They told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants and the ants stung the rattlesnake to death and ate him. Placed on rattlesnake baskets, these characters are a subtle warning to all rattlesnakes.

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The Yokuts Rattlesnake Dance was a spring ceremony. It was performed for the purpose of overcoming the supernatural power of the rattlesnake, as well as to insure against snake bites during the coming summer. Although the actual practices during the ceremony varied somewhat between Tejon Canyon and the San Joaquin River, one hundred and fifty miles to the north, the objectives and the ceremonies themselves were similar.

Believing that the statements of aged Indians who participated in rattlesnake dances would be of most interest to readers, I shall devote most of the remainder of this chapter to such

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we called *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats. That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove.

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout called *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deerskin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule. Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the cape in place.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their
304 nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They
[184] cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo.
[302] But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

159 The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It
386 came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
438 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite]. Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
●531 red, white, and black, and some other color they got from berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne
[438] baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
372 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there
524 were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
533 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y W 323 [531]

decoration. No slip or painted ornamentation was ever applied. An occasional piece was decorated with a row of thumb-nail scratches around the exterior of the rim; a small bowl in the Barrett collection is decorated with a crude geometric pattern pricked into the clay.[8]

The color of the finished ware is dull red, or murky gray to red if unevenly fired. The color of the ware after it has been in use is dark gray to black: the rough surface absorbs dirt from handling, and pots used as cooking vessels become blackened from smoke. The unfired clay used by the Wobonuch was dark gray but became dull red after the firing process. In notes with his collection Barrett mentions a yellow clay as the most satisfactory variety for pottery. Red clay which occurs in the region was not used for pottery.

Y W 323 415

There seems to have been a standardization of shapes, or at least a tendency toward it. The majority of specimens have flat bottoms and curveless sides which flare slightly. The rims are vertical or even slightly incurved: this may be due to the final pinching and smoothing of the rim clay rather than to the deliberate intention of the potter. Among the thirty-four specimens, on which this description is based, the following deviations from the standard shapes occur: four round-bottomed bowls with curved sides; one flat-bottomed, low, oval bowl; and one flat-bottomed bell-shaped bowl.

The heights of the specimens vary from 23 to 204 mm., and roughly fall into four groups: (*a*) 5 specimens from 23 to 49 mm. high; (*b*) 17, from 64 to 105 mm.; (*c*) 7, from 135 to 156 mm.; and (*d*) 5, from 171 to 204 mm. This agrees rather well with informants' descriptions of three sizes of ware which they describe as (*a*) small bowls used for dippers, (*b*) a medium size used for holding food and soaking basket materials, and (*c*) a large size for cooking which varied with the size of a family (this probably refers to such specimens as those in the last two groups, *c* and *d*). Although the Yokuts and Western Mono distinguished these sizes they were not defined in native nomenclature by specific names. All pottery vessels were called ki'wic (Yokuts) or wina'bi (Western Mono)—literally, clay.[9] Large and small vessels were simply called big or little ki'wic (wina'bi).

[8] Respectively, specimens 1-10890, 1-10892, Museum of Anthropology, University of California.

[9] This is somewhat analogous to our own use of tin, silver, linen, for objects made of these materials, though we have specific designations as well.

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 osity he ignored her caution and joined the other small boys following one of the doctors. The doctor went to Rocky Hill near Porterville where rattlesnakes live among the rocks. When they approached the spot where the snakes were, the doctor told the boys to stay back and not frighten the snakes. In order not to miss seeing the capture of the snakes, José climbed up on a boulder. Here he saw that the doctor was equipped

[285] [415] [531]

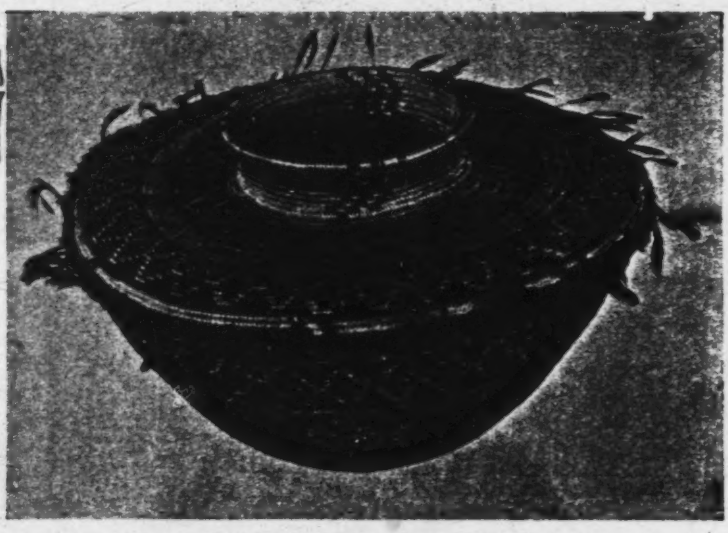

FIG. 5—Rattlesnake Basket of the Yokuts Indians.

with a small whistle, a bottle-shape (shouldered) basket, (Fig. 5) and an eagle-down string. The doctor began blowing on the whistle until some rattlesnakes began to crawl out toward him.

The little boy on the rock became transfixed with fear and curiosity as the snakes approached the shaman as if they were hypnotized. The doctor threw the string of eagle-down behind (?) the snakes to keep them from escaping (?), and then bent down and picked them up and put them into the necked basket. [789]

During the rattlesnake ceremony, José reported, a pit was dug into which the rattlesnakes were placed and some sort of cover (brush ?) was put over the pit. All of the people in attendance would then go past the pit and place one foot over the pit of snakes, but not quite near enough to be struck. As they did this, they threw money onto a blanket lying by the